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Message Text

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SS-15 USIA-06 IO-13 ACDA-12 /101 W
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R 280658Z FEB 78
FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8106
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
USMISSION USBERLIN
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMCONSUL HONG KONG
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMCONSUL MUNICH
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USLO PEKING
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
USMISSION USNATO
AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 BUCHAREST 1224

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: HU YO RO CH US UR BU CSCE XF
SUBJ: SE EUROPEAN TERRITORIAL/MINORITY ISSUES AND GLOBAL
POLITICS: RECENT EVIDENCE
REFS: (A) BELGRADE 1551 (NOTAL), (B) SOFIA 335 (NOTAL), (C)
BUCHAREST 1152 (NOTAL), (D) BELGRADE 1484 (NOTAL), (E)
MOSCOW 2709 (NOTAL), (F) BUCHAREST 1135 (NOTAL), (G)
BUCHAREST 791 (NOTAL)
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1. SUMMARY. HUA KUO-FENG'S TRIP TO SE EUROPE LATER THIS YEAR, TOGETHER WITH TITO AND CEAUSESCU VISITS TO U.S. AND REPORTED CEAUSESCU VISIT TO PEKING IN SAME MARCH-APRIL TIME FRAME, WILL BE DEMONSTRATION OF YUGOSLAV AND ROMANIAN INDEPENDENCE FROM USSR. ROMANIANS WILL ALSO SEE THEIR ATTEMPTS TO MANAGE LOCAL TERRITORIAL/MINORITY ISSUES WITHIN THIS GLOBAL FRAMEWORK.

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HIGHLIGHTS OF PAST WEEK'S EVIDENCE:
--FEBRUARY 18 SCINTEIA RELAUNCHES PROPOSAL FOR ANOTHER BALKAN REGIONAL COOPERATION MEETING, WITH CURIOUS YUGOSLAV LABEL;
--ON MACEDONIA, BOTH SCINTEIA AND ACTING FONMIN GLIGA (FEBRUARY 23) SUGGEST ROMANIANS CONTINUE TO DEFINE DISPUTE AS "INTER-BALKAN PROBLEM AND YUGOSLAV COUNSELOR ANNOUNCES APRIL 5 CEAUSESCU-ZHIVKOV MEETING WITH INTIMATION MACEDONIA WILL BE DISCUSSED;
--ON TRANSYLVANIA, DEPFONMIN OANCEA TELLS YUGOSLAVS (FEBRUARY 22) GOR WILL NOT RAISE ISSUE TO "POLITICAL LEVEL" UNLESS HUNGARIANS INSIST, AND WHILE LOCAL ROMANIANS AND HUNGARIANS IMPLICITLY ADMIT IMPLEMENTATION OF JUNE 1977 ACCORD IS AN ISSUE, KNOWLEDGEABLE ROMANIANS STILL SEE SOVIET HAND BEHIND INTENSIFIED HUNGARIAN AGITATION.

2. EVIDENCE STILL POINTS TO ROMANIAN EFFORT TO WEAVE TERRI-TORIAL/MINORITY ISSUES INTO LARGER BALKAN OR WARSAW PACT FRAME-WORK AND DEFUSE THEM BY MULTILATERALIZING SOVIET/EE REAFFIRMATION OF CSCE PRINCIPLES OF TERROTORIAL INTEGRITY AND NON-INTERFERENCE FOR LOCAL APPLICATION. TIMING LINKAGE BETWEEN PLANNING FOR YUGOSLAV AND ROMANIAN VISITS WITH CHINA AND U.S., ON ONE HAND, AND RENEWED AGITATION ON TRANSYLVANIA AND MACEDONIA, ON OTHER, IS INESCAPABLE FOR ROMANIANS, EVEN IF 1971 KOMOSCIN ATTACK ON GOR MINORITY POLICY DAY CEAUSESCU RETURNED FROM PEKING WERE NOT THERE TO REMIND THEM. RE U.S., WE ALSO NOTE ROMANIAN CAMPAIGN FOR MULTI-YEAR MFN AND HIGH-
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LEVEL COMPLAINTS ABOUT HOSTILE "NON-GERMANE" TESTIMONY DURING ANNUAL HEARINGS BEGAN IN SAME TIMEFRAME LAST FALL, AND GLIGA REITERATED COMPLAINT TO AMBASSADOR AND EUR/EE DIRECTOR ANDREWS FEBRUARY 23. YUGOSLAVS, GIVEN THEIR PRE-FERENCE FOR HANDLING SUCH PROBLEMS IN BILATERAL CHANNELS, ARE LIKELY TO RESIST EFFORT TO MULTILATERALIZE SOLUTION, SO WE ARE INCLINED TO BELIEVE CEAUSESCU AND DOLANC DISCUSSED WHOLE COMPLEX OF ISSUES AT TIMISOARA DESPITE YUGOSLAV DIS-CLAIMERS. END SUMMARY.

3. HUA KUO-FENG'S FORAY INTO A SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE AFTER LCY CONGRESS IN JUNE (REFS C AND D) CLEARLY CHANGES LAY OF DIPLOMATIC LANDSCAPE IN THIS PART OF WORLD. RECEIVING CHINESE LEADERSHIP IN BELGRADE AND BUCHAREST THIS YEAR WILL BE POLI-TICAL DEMONSTRATION OF FIRST MAGNITUDE FOR BOTH YUGOSLAVIA AND ROMANIA, AND IT WILL BE DEMONSTRATION OF INDEPENDENCE FROM USSR. IF CURRENT SOVIET ATTITUDE TOWARD CHINA WAS NOT CLEAR BEFORE, USTINOV'S FEBRUARY 23 SPEECH (REF E) HAS NOW MADE IT ABUNDANTLY CLEAR. CEAUSESCU AND DOLANC, WHEN THEY MET EARLIER THIS MONTH IN TIMISOARA, MUST HAVE ANTICIPATED THAT SOVIETS WILL CONSIDER THEIR COUNTRIES WILLING PARTNERS IN WHAT USTINOV DESCRIBED AS CHINESE FEFFORT TO ACT "IN CONCERT WITH

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WORLD REACTION" AND ESTABLISH "UNITED ANTI-SOVIET FRONT."
RUMORS OF HIGH-LEVEL CHINESE VISIT HAVE BEEN CIRCULATING
IN BUCHAREST (AND PRESUMABLY MOSCOW) SINCE ROMANIAN-CHINESE
CONTACTS TOOK QUANTUM LEAP LAST FALL, AND WE NOW HAVE TWO
REPORTS FROM DIPLOMATIC CIRCUIT THAT CEAUSESCU WILL VISIT
CHINA IN MARCH OR APRIL, I.E. IN SAME TIMEFRAME AS HIS AND
TITO'S VISITS TO U.S. YUGOSLAVIA AND ROMANIA THUS HAVE
POST POSITIONS FOR NEXT ROUND OF SINO-SOVIET-U.S. GREAT GAME.

4. THOUGH TRENDS ARE UNCERTAIN, RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN
LOCAL SOUTHEAST EUROPEAN POLITICKING SHOULD BE SEEN, WE
THINK, AGAINST THIS MORE IMPRESSIVE GLOBAL BACKDROP. AS FAR
AS ROMANIA IS CONCERNED (AND WE SUSPECT OTHER AREA COUNTRIES
AGREE), BALKAN AND TERRITORIAL/MINORITY ISSUES ARE PART OF
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SAME BIG PICTURE.

5. RE BALKAN REGIONAL COOPERATION TALKS, ON FEBRUARY 23
ROMANIAN ACTING FONMIN VASILE GLIGA TOLD AMBASSADOR AND EUR/EE
DIRECTOR ANDREWS THAT ROMANIA FAVORS GOING AHEAD WITH MULTI-
LATERAL COOPERATION, BUT BULGARIA DOES NOT (THEREBY CON-
FIRMING REF B REPORT). AT SAME TIME, GOR DOES NOT WISH TO
PROCEED WITHOUT BULGARIANS. NEVERTHELESS, HE NOTED, TURKS
HAVE OFFERED TO HOST NEXT MEETING.

6. IN MEANTIME, MAJOR ARTICLE ON BALKANS BY AL CAMPEANU
IN RCP CC DAILY SCINTEIA FEBRUARY 18 RELAUNCED PROPOSAL
FOR NEXT ATHENS-TYPE MULTILATEAL MEETING BY EXTRAORDINARY
DEVICE OF PINNING AUTHORSHIP ON YUGOSLAVS. THUS,"
CAMPEANU WRITES, "YUGOSLAVIA'S INITIATIVE TO CONVOKE NEW

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FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8107
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA
/AMEMBASSY ATHENS 601
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
USMISSION USBERLIN
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMCONSUL HONG KONG
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMCONSUL MUNICH
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USLO PEKING
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
USMISSION USNATO
AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 BUCHAREST 1224

INTER-BALKAN MEETING CONSECRATED TO ECONOMIC
COOPERATION, TO
CONTINUE AND FRUCTIFY RESULTS OF ATHENS MEETING, HAS BECOME
KNOWN IN RECENT DAYS." ASKED ABOUT ATTRIBUTION FEBRUARY 23,
YUGOSLAV COUNSELOR POPVOIC EXPRESSED IRRITATION, SINCE HE
HAD ABSOLUTELY NO INDICATION YUGOSLAVIA HAD LAUNCHED ANY SUCH
INITIATIVE, AT LEAST FORMALLY, AND WAS SURE BUCHAREST EMBASSY
WOULD HAVE BEEN INFORMED IF IT HAD. AS FAR AS HE KNEW, TOPIC
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WAS NOT DISCUSSED BETWEEN CEAUSESCU AND DOLANC.

7. THREE OTHER FEATURES OF CAMPEANU'S PIECE DESERVE ATTENTION:
--IT DESCRIBES COOPERATION PROJECTS PROPOSED BY ROMANIA AT
ATHENS IN UNUSUAL DETAL: TRANSPORT, ENERGY, PROSPECTING
AND EXPLOITATION OF "VARIOUS DEPOSITS," JOINT CONSTRUCTION
OF VARIOUS INSTALLATIONS, CREATION OF JOINT EXTERPRISES;
--IT CONTINUES EFFORT ANNOUNCED BY SANDRU JANUARY 5 (REF B)
TO PLACE ATHENS PROCESS FIRMLY UNDER CSCE UMBRELLA: "IT IS
EVIDENT THAT COOPERATION IN THESE DOMAINS WOULD CORRESPOND
TO VITAL INTERESTS IN PROGRESS OF BALKAN PEOPLES, CONSTITUTING
BY SAME TOKEN PRACTICAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO IMPLEMENTATION OF
PROVISIONS OF FINAL ACT OF ALL-EUROPEAN CONFERENCE, TO UNDER-
STANDING AND SECURITY IN REGIONAL FRAMEWORK AND IN ALL
EUROPE;" AND
--IT TAKES EXACTLY SAME LINE ON INTER-BALKAN PROBLEMS AS
CEAUSESCU'S JANUARY 25 SPEECH (REF G): GREEK-TURKISH
CONTENTIOUS AND CYPRUS ISSUE ARE MENTIONED AS EXAMPLES,

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BUT NET IS CAST LARGE--"ELIMINATION OF CERTAIN SOURCES OF TENSION EXISTING AMONG CERTAIN COUNTRIES OF REGION"--AND ACCOMMODATES MACEDONIA.

8. ON MACEDONIA, GLIGA RAN OVER INTER-BALKAN PROBLEMS WITH AMBASSADOR AND ANDREWS FEBRUARY 23 IN SUCH A WAY AS TO HIGH-LIGHT IT. BULGARIANS AND TURKS HAVE FOUND WAYS OF DEALING WITH THEIR PROBLEMS, HE SAID; GREEKS AND YUGOSLAVS HAVE MANAGED TO CONTROL THEIR DISPUTE OVER MACEDONIA BY PUTTING IT ON SHELF; BUT YUGOSLAVS AND BULGARIANS HAVE NOT HET DISCOVERED WAY TO CONTROL THEIRS.

9. THEIR IS ALSO SOME EVIDENCE FROM LOCAL YUGOSLAVS THAT ROMANIANS ARE RAISING MACEDONIAN ISSUE WITH BULGARIANS, ALBEIT IN GINGERLY FASHION. COUNSELOR POPOVIC SAID
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FEBRUARY 23 THAT CEAUSESCU AND ZHICOV
WILL MEET APRIL 5 TO
INAUGURATE JOINT HYDROELECTRIC PROJECT ON DANUBE (SEE ALSO REF B). IT IS HARD TO SAY WHETHER MACEDONIA WILL BE DISCUSSED, HE WENT ON. ROMANIANS ARE EXTREMELY CAREFUL ABOUT MACEDONIA. TO YUGOSLAVIAS THEY CITE THEIR CONCERN FOR GOOD RELATIONS WITH BULGARIA, AND HE SUSPECTED THEY ARE ALSO AFRAID TO HAVE DOBROGEA ISSUE FLUNG BACK AT THEM IF THEY RAISE MACEDONIA WITH BULGARIANS.

10. ON TRANSYLVANIA, POPOVIC SAID, IN CONVERSATION PREVIOUS DAY ROMANIAN DEPUTY FONMIN OANCEA (RESPONSIBLE FOR RELATIONS WITH "SOCIALIST COUNTRIES) HAD TOLD HIM GOR DOES NOT INTEND TO RAISE HISTORICAL DISPUTE WITH HUNGARIANS TO "POLITICAL LEVEL" UNLESS FORCED TO DO SO BY HUNGARIANS THEMSELVES.

11. IMPLICATION WOULD BE THAT RCP CC SECRETARY ANDREI DID NOT RAISE ISSUE DURING FEBRUARY 16-19 VISIT TO BUDAPEST. COOLNESS OF COMMUNIQUE LANGUAGE AND HEAT DISPLAYED IN OUR CONVERSATIONS WITH ROMANIANS IN BUCHAREST MAKES IT ALMOST CERTAIN THAT TOPIC WAS DISCUSSED, HOWEVER. SOVIET COUNSELOR REMOV TOLD DCM FEBRUARY 27 THAT IT WAS, BUT THAT SOURCES WOULD NOT TELL HIM WHAT WAS SAID. ASKED ABOUT VISIT FEBRUARY 23, CAUTIOUS HUNGARIAN CHARGE KALMAR SAID "THERE HAD BEEN NO POLEMICS." WE THEREFORE TAKE OANCEA'S MEANING TO BE THAT GOR WILL NOT TAKE ISSUE TO POLITICAL LEVEL IN PUBLIC RPT PUBLIC UNLESS IT SEES ITS HAND FORCED.

12. BUCHAREST INTERLOCUTORS ON BOTH SIDES ADMIT, IF ONLY IMPOLICITLY, THAT ROMANIAN IMPLEMENTATION OF JUNE 1977 CEAUSESCU-KADAR AGREEMENTS AT DEBRECEN IS PART OF PICTURE. KALMAR SAID THERE HAVE BEEN SOME "DELAYS" (FINNISH AMBASSADOR REPORTS THAT CLUJ FIRST SECRETARY TOLD HIM IN EARLY FEBRUARY HUNGARIAN CONSULATE THERE SHOULD BE OPEN NEXT YEAR), AND THAT HUNGARIAN DE-

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LEGATION WILL BE ARRIVING SOON TO DISCUSS "TECHNICAL DIFFICUL-
TIES" CONNECTED WITH CONSULATE AND LIBRARY OPENINGS. HUNGARIANS
STILL WONDER WHY ROMANIANS EXCLUDED THREE MAJOR BORDER TOWNS
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FROM AREA OF APPLICATION OF WIDENED FRONTIER ZONE, KALMAR
ADDED, SINCE IN FACT HUNGARIANS WITH ORDINARY PASSPORTS CAN
ENTER THEM, AND PASSPORTS ARE EASY TO GET. ON ROMANIAN SIDE,
ROMANIAN ACADEMICIAN EMIL CONDURACHI (SECRETARY-GENERAL OF IN-
TERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR SOUTHEAST EUROPEAN STUDIES AND A
HISTORIAN) TOLD DCM FEBRUARY 24 THAT ONE PURPOSE OF HISTORICAL
POLEMICS ON HUNGARIANS SIDE MIGHT BE TO ENCOURAGE DEBRECEN IM-
PLEMENTATION, AND THUS PURELY HUNGARIAN IN ORIGIN.

13. NEVERTHELESS, CONDURACHI WENT ON, HE WAS CONVINCED
HUNGARIANS HAD BEEN "ADVISED" TO RAISE TRANSYLVANIAN ISSUE
IN PUBLIC AT THIS LEVEL LF INTENSITY. BULGARIAN HISTORIAN
FRIEND HAD ONCE TOLD HIM IN CONFIDENCE THAT BURNING ISSUE
FOR BULGARIANS WAS MACEDONIA, BUT THEY WERE PREVENTED FROM
WRITING ABOUT IT, AND "ADVISED" BY "FRIENDS" TO WRITE ABOUT
DOBROGEA, WHICH PITS THEM AGAINST ROMANIA, INSTEAD. HUNGARIANS
ARE DIFFERENT, SINCE THEY WOULD WRITE ABOUT TRANSYLVANIA ALL
THE TIME IF THEY COULD. HUNGARIAN CAMPAING AS SUCH, HAS BEEN
GOING ON FOR YEARS AT "SCHOLOARLY" LEVEL. SCHOLARS EVERYWHERE
SAY AND WRITE FOOLISH THINGS, AND IT IS CERTAINLY NOT NECESSARY
TO MOBILIZE WHOLE "HISTORICAL ARTILLERY" AGAINST EVERY SILLY
STATEMENT. BUT IN RECENT MONTHS CAMPAIGN HAS REACHED EXTRA-
ORDINARY PITCH OF INTENSITY AND SILLINESS, AND THIS IS NOT POS-
SIBLE WITHOUT SOVIET PERMISSION AND "ADVICE."

14. ON SUBSTANCE--ROMANIAN TREATMENT OF MAGYAR MINORITY IN
TRANSYLVANIA--CONDURACHI SAID THAT OF COURSE GOR COULD DO MORE,
BUT IT IS SLANDER TO CLAIM IT HAS DONE NOTHING. HE VIGOROUSLY
DENIED SUGGESTION THAT ROMANIAN MINORITY POLICY IN FACT RESEM-
BLES SOVIET NATIONALITIES POLICY: DIFFERENCE, HE SAID, IS
THAT SOVIETS ENGAGE IN FORCED ASSIMILATION, RATHER THAN LET
MODERNIZATION PROCESS TAKE NATURAL COURSE. HUNGARIANS OB-
JECT TO PROCESS WHEREBY INDUSTRY BUILT IN MAGYAR-MAJORITY
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CITIES ATTRACTS ROMANIAN WORK FORCE FROM SURROUNDING VILLAGES.
IMPLIED POLICY ALTERNATIVE FOR ROMANIA IS TO DO WITHOUT INDUSTRY.

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RUFHMABXAMCONSUL MUNICH 1956
AMEMBASSY PARIS
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USMISSION USNATO
AMEMBASSY WARSAW

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SIMILARLY, HUNGARIANS COMPLAIN THAT MAGYAR PROFESSIONALS
ARE ASSIGNED TO ROMANIAN-MAJORITY AREAS. FACT IS THAT
ROMANIA HAS REAL PROBLEM WITH OVERPRODUCTION OF MAGYAR SCHOOL
TEACHERS, AND WHILE DOCTORS ARE NOT YET PROBLEM, THEY SOON
WILL BE.

15. DANGER OF ETHNIC CHAUVINISM, CONDURACHI FELT, IS MORE
ACUTE AMONG INTELLECTUALS, BOTH ROMANIAN AND MAGYAR, WHOM
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ROMANIAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM HAS BEEN PRODUCING IN GREAT NUM-
BERS, THAN AMONG ORDINARY PEOPLE MORE CONCERNED WITH MAKING
A LIVING. FOR FORMER, HE PERSONALLY FAVORED POLICY OF EN-

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COURAGING BILINGUALISM OF BOTH ROMANIANS AND MAGYARS, AND PROVIDING MORE PROFESSIONAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR EDUCATED MAGYARS. FOR BROADER SOCIAL GROUPS, SYMBOLIC STEPS SUCH AS BILINGUAL

STREET SIGNS WOULD BE ADVISABLE. (DCM HAD MENTIONED KIRALY LETTER COMPLAINT THEY HAD BEEN REMOVED IN COVASNA, ALTHOUGH HE HAD SEEN THEM IN OCTOBER 1977 IN NEIGHBORING MAGYAR-MAJORITY HARGHITA JUDET.)

16. COMMENTV POLICY STEP FROM MAGYAR MINORITY IN TRANSYLVANIA AND YUGOSLAV-BULGARIAN DISPUTE OVER MACEDONAI TO SOVIET DISPLEASURE OVER HUA KUO-FENG VISITS TO BELGRADE AND BUCHAREST MAY SEEM A LARGE ONE TO OUTSIDERS, BUT IT IS VERY SHORT FOR SOUTHEASTERN EUROPEANS. TRENDS ARE STLL UNCLEAR, BUT PIECEMEAL EVIDENCE PRESENTED ABOVE STILL POINTS, AS WE READ IT, TO ROMANIAN EFFORT TO WEAVE TERRITORIAL/MINORITY ISSUES INTO LARGER BALKAN OR WARSAW PACT FRAMEWORK (REF F), TO DEFUSE THEM BY MULTILATERALIZING REAFFIRMATION OF SOVIET/EE COMMITMENTS TO CSCE PRINCIPLES OF TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND NON-INTERFERENCE WITH SPECIFIC APPLICATION TO THIS AREA.

17. WITH REGARD TO MAGYAR MINORITY IN TRANSYLVANIA, ROMANIANS MAY BE WILLING TO SPEED IMPLEMENTATION OF CEAUSESCU-KADAR DEBRECEN AGREEMENT, OR TO CONSIDER IMPROVEMENTS FOR ROMANIAN MAGYARS. BUT THEY WILL INSIST ON SEEING QUESTION AGAINST LARGER POLICY BACKDROP. PLANNING PROCEFL WHICH HAS NOW CULMINATED IN TOP-LEVEL EXCHANGES OF VISITS AMONG ROMANIA, YUGOSLAVIA, CHINA AND U.S. HAS BEEN ACCOMPANIED SINCE IT BEGAN LAST FALL BY RENEWED HUNGARIAN AGITATION OVER TRANSYLVANIA, BEGINNING WITH KIRALY LETTERS AND NOW EXTENDING TO PUB-
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LISHED POLEMICS AND HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT DISSATISFACTION WITH DEBRECEN IMPLEMENTATION, AND BY FLAREUP OF MACEDONIAN ISSUE TO SOUGH. (WE NOTE IN THIS CONNECTION THAT GOR DECIDED TO GO FOR MULTI-YEAR MFN AND BEGAN TO COMPLAIN AT HIGH LEVELS ABOUT "NON-GERMANE" ANTI-GOR TESTIMONY DURING ANNUAL MFN REVIEW AT ABOUT SAME TIME, AND THAT GLIGA RENEWED THIS COMPLAINT TO AMBASSADOR AND ANDREWS FEBRUARY 23.) TIMING LINKAGE IS INESCAPABLE, AT LEAST FOR GOR, AND HISTORICAL PARALLEL WHICH MUST BE UPPERMOST IN ROMANIAN MINDS JUST NOW IS JUNE 1971, WHEN HUNGARIAN POLITBURO MEMBER KOMOSCIN MADE PUBLIC ATTACK ON ROMANIAN POLICY TOWARD MAGYAR MINORITY IN TRANSYLVANIA ON VERY DAY CEAUSESCU RETURNED FROM PEKING. WE THEREFORE DOUBT THAT OANCEA'S IMPLIED THREAT TO RAISE TRANSYLVANIA TO "POLITICAL LEVEL" IF HUNGARIANS CONTINUE EXHAUSTS ROMANIAN POLICY OPTIONS, AND WE EXPECT ROMANIANS TO CONTINUE TRYING TO GET SOVIETS AND OTHER NEIGHBORS SIGNED ON TO CSCE PRINCIPLES FOR REGIONAL PURPOSES.

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YUGOSLAVIA
IS LIKELY TO RESIST ENDEAVOR. YUGOSLAVS ARE MORE PRACTICAL
THAN ROMANIANS AND, EVEN MORE IMPORTANT, THEY PREFER TO RE-
SOLVE SERIOUS PROBLEMS LIKE MACEDONIA THROUGH BILATERAL CHANNELS,
SINCE ANY LARGER FRAMEWORK WOULD THREATEN TO GIVE OTHERS
(INCLUDING SOVIETS IN CASE OF WARSAW PACT) AN UNWELCOME SAY
IN OUTCOME. FOR THIS REASON, WHILE WE ARE NOT SPONTANEOUSLY
SUSPICIOUS OF YUGOSLAVS AS EMBASSY BELGRADE IS OF ROMANIANS
AND EVEN CZECHS (REF A), WE BELIEVE YUGOSLAV STATEMENTS ON
BOTH ROMANIAN INTENTIONS AND SUBSTANCE OF CEAUSESCU-DOLANC
MEETING SHOULD BE TAKEN WITH GRAIN OF SALT. OKKE BELGRADE'S
SOURCES, COJNSELOR POPOVIC ALSO DESCRIBED CEAUSESCU-DOLANC
MEETING AS ROUTINE, BUT THEN REVEALED HUA KUO-FENG WOULD BE
COMING TO BELGRADE, IMPLIED THAT CEAUSESCU MIGHT BE TALKING
TO ZHIVKOV ABOUT MACEDONIA WHEN THEY MEET APRIL 5, AND WENT
ON TO DESCRIBE UPCOMING MEETING OF WARSAW PACT FOREIGN AFFAIRS
AND IDEOLOGY SECRETARIES IN BUDAPEST AS "VERY IMPORTANT,"
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ALTHOUGH HE DOUBTED THAT TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY WOULD BE
DISCUSSED, "SINCE PARTICIPANTS WILL NOT BE AT HIGH ENOUGH
LEVEL TO PERMIT COMMITMENTS ON ISSUES OF THIS IMPORTANCE."
EXTRAORDINARY ROMANIAN STEP OF GIVING PROPOSAL FOR ANOTHER
BALKAN MEETING A YUGOSLAV LABEL SUGGESTS RATHER THAT THESE
ISSUES WERE INDEED DISCUSSED, BUT THAT ROMANIANS ARE PUSH-
ING YUGOSLAVS IN DIRECTIONS THEY DO NOT PRESENTLY WISH TO
GO.
AGGREY

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Disposition Approved on Date:
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